2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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796 "a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the Indians sing and pray."[62] Speck noted that the sweat lodge was erected in the Big House in the Wolf phratry ceremony and that "the sweating rite was held as a test of endurance for the men who had spiritual guidance."[63] Zeisberger also stated that there was a number of less important ceremonies arranged by individuals.[64]

A minor ceremony, continued until the twentieth century but unrecorded in the earlier literature except for a casual reference by Zeisberger, was the "Otter-Hog Dance."[65] This rite had to be given every [777] few years by a certain family or else bad luck ensued (O.A.). The leader of this dance wore an otter hide which stretched from his head down his back to the ground. Special songs were sung, and the meat of the largest procurable hog was consumed during the dance. The hog's head was carried around in a pan by the leader during the dance and at the conclusion of the ceremony was consigned to the flames (O.A.). Harrington mentioned this ceremony and gave an origin myth for it, but his informants did not remember the dance itself.[66] Speck has also described this "Grease Drinking, or Otter Ceremony."[67]

[532] Another series of minor ceremonies consisted of the Doll Dances. These dances probably originated in prehistoric times, but were not recorded in the early documents. The dolls seem to have had their origin in the visions of women and were passed down through the maternal line.[68] Doll owners had to give their dolls annual dances, usually in the spring. The doll was tied to a stick and the dancers carried it during the all-night ceremony. Both sexes participated; men danced in an inner circle, the women in an outer. They danced around a fire on either side of which two poles had been raised. The drum used in this ceremony was the "package" drum used in the Big House Ceremony (O.A., M.B., J.T., J.W.). Twelve songs were sung in the course of the ceremony, followed by a pause for a feast in which various corn dishes prepared by the owner of the doll were eaten. After this meal the songs were repeated, and just before dawn cornbread was scattered on the ground and was picked up and eaten by the dancers. Speck said that a Doll Dance "embodies the idea of appeasing the latent ill-will of the Spirit of Corn, aroused through innocent familiarity incurred in the past between the children of certain families and this sensitive Manitto."[69] Harrington described the Doll dances, but his description varies somewhat from mine.[70]

There were undoubtedly other dances and feasts, including first fruits rites,[71] given at different seasons by various family or other kin

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39; Kenny, 1913, pp. 196-97.
[63] Speck, 1937, p. 21.
[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 140.
[65] Zeisberger, 1871, p. 344.
[66] Harrington, 1921, pp. 176-82.
[67] Speck, 1937, pp. 44-48.
[68] The section on Mythology describes several origin tales for the Doll Dances.
[69] Speck, 1937, p. 61.
[70] Harrington, 1921, pp. 164-71.
[71] Hayes, 1954, p. 70 (first deer killed after an annual ceremony, on June 9, 1760); Loskiel, 1794, p. 40; Brickell, 1842, p. 49.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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224 1789 [887] pocket. Thus the old men support themselves when they can no longer engage in the chase. As there are several sorts of charm of this character, every one is desirous to get the best, even if he has already at the price of half the catch of a season bought one charm and if it should cost him the greater part of his property to get the new one of which he has heard. Some Indians chew a certain root when on the deer-hunt, so the deer may not notice their approach when the wind blowing over the Indian to the game would otherwise give the alarm.

Another kind of Beson, considered to be a more powerful charm, is taken inwardly and occasions violent vomiting, but this is not in common use. According to the opinion of the Indians this beson will prove mischievous and have a contrary effect unless every ceremony connected with its use is attended to with the most scrupulous exactness. If a huntsman shoots nothing for several days, he swallows a small dose, observing all the rules prescribed by magic art. Not having taken any food he then starts on the chase and does not return before evening unless he has secured some game. It is claimed that the use of this charm enables them to shoot deer in considerable numbers. I have observed, however, that Indians have repeatedly taken such doses during a period of three weeks and not been successful. In such cases ill-luck is ascribed to some other cause, frequently to the presence of a missionary. In cases where Indians, unable to secure anything in spite of the use of this beson while I was present have been successful in my absence, it has appeared that my presence has in some way interfered with their incantations.

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[787] In connection with the chase they lay much stress on dreams. If the dreamer fancies he sees an Indian and hears him say, "If thou will sacrifice to me, thou shalt shoot deer at pleasure," he will immediately prepare a sacrifice and burn the whole or part of a deer in honor of the apparition.

Occasionally, when an Indian would go hunting for a season, he will by way of preparation shoot a deer or two, bring home the flesh and prepare a feast, which is at the same time a sacrifice, to which the aged are invited. The latter pray for him that he may be fortunate and then he departs to stay away some time.

The Gods of the Delaware

776 The Delaware believed in a supreme first power, "who had not only produced or made all things, but produces every day...Everything he makes and does is good." (Danckaerts, p. 174). This does not mean that the creator necessarily creates everything himself, but what ever being creates (as, for example, the tortoise in the creation myth) does so as his agent; Brainerd noted that although the Indians paid reverential attention to birds, beasts, fishes and reptiles, "...they do not indeed suppose a divine power essential to, or inhering in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings ...communicate to these animals a great power; ...and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons." (Brainerd, pp. 344-45). Likewise the guardian spirits and all other beings with unusual power derive it from the Great Spirit (Penn, p. 37; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128)

In addition to granting objects of nature special power on certain occasions, the Great Spirit is believed to have given more or less permanent control over certain aspects of nature to lesser beings. From this arises their concept of the lesser deities such as the four directions, the Sun, the Moon, Thunders, Living Solid Face or Mask Being (Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; Brainerd, p. 345: Heckwelder, 1881, pp. 212-213). We know from later sources that this last being is the guardian of the animals. He is the only deity whose appearance is specifically designated and represented by a costume. The face is a wooden mask painted half red and half black; its body, which was supposed to have been hairy, is represented by a suit of bearskin (Harrington, 1921, p. 33). Apparently Brainerd saw a shaman dressed to represent this being for his description coincides in all details (Brainerd, p. 237). The only other known images of the Delaware were faces, also painted red and black, which were carved on the Big House posts and miniature stone faces which were worn around the neck. Present day Delwares think of the former as representing the spirits in charge of each of the twelve heavens, and consider them related to the Living Solid Face (Beatty, p. 22; Harrington, 1921, p. 31). The latter were according to Harrington, worn as good luck or good health charms (Harrington, 1921, p. 36). An example of one found in an east coast site is shown in Skinner (1920, p. 5).

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773 [771] The Delaware also told of a super-human man who had come in the remote past and taught them how to live. In Lindstrom's version, a Lenape woman became pregnant and gave birth to a son although no man had any connection with her. This boy, "...had so much to say that it was a great wonder and performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air... 'He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again,' they say." (Lindstrom, p. 208). In other accounts these same features are combined with a more specific refer-

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

776 796 called *Weopĕ'lakis*, to distinguish it from another, kept by a different family, which was not so important, and about which little was known by my informants except that, within their memories, it had never appeared at the Annual Ceremony, but that it probably had a spring dance of its own. There is an indistinct tradition, however, that in former times several masks were seen at the Annual Ceremony, and that half a day was given up to them.

751 ●777 778 Miniature masks (fig. 3) were often worn on the person as health or good-luck charms, in former days usually suspended from a string about the neck, but in later times carried in the pocket. The two large Unami masks in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, are shown in pl. II and fig. 1.

776 778 Among the Minsi there are considerable differences in belief and in practice, their masks resembling those of the Iroquois in many particulars. The late James Wolf said that "Mizinkhâli'kŭn" was supposed to live among the rocks

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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on a hill, where he was first seen, and told the people how to obtain his power. The mask owners formed a society, which

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FIG. 3.—Charm representing Mĭsinghâli'kŭn. (Height, 1.9 in.)

had a special meeting-house and ceremonies, and whose chief function it was to expell disease. This will be discussed further in another paper. Peter Jones[25]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

This motive would be insufficient, even a sacrilege. The spiritual preparation of its participants was made a matter of prime importance and the purity of those concerned in it was to be insisted upon. Joe Washington has since felt that these serious injunctions were of so drastic a character that until the present time they could not be complied with. It seems, therefore, that there is little prospect for anything more than a dictated version to be obtained, which will have to await necessary support for its accomplishment.

Upon the occasion of my expedition to the Delawares in Oklahoma some time was spent in interviews with Tom Half Moon[1] who had had experience as an attendant, or *a'ckas*, of the Big House Ceremony as performed in recent years by his group, the Turkey group. The notes offered are, therefore, advantageous in respect to the details furnished by one who had the teachings directly from those who were responsible for its proper conduct. These notes should accordingly serve as a supplement to that section of the ceremony published in the Big House Ceremony volume dealing with the duties of the attendants. They are in effect as follows:

The attendants who sweep the White Path, or the path around which the dancers proceed when performing in the Big House after each dance, do so with turkey wings, using only the left hand in holding the fans, since the left hand is the holy hand, the right the unholy. The male attendants start sweeping at opposite ends from the women. When they have swept the dancing path twelve times they have cleared away the obstacles of an unfavorable spiritual nature lying between the worshippers and the Great Spirit. As was noted in the published account, the attendants each receive a yard of wampum at the end of the ceremony. He also noted that those who attended the ceremony received two wampum beads each to be kept by them as tokens of good fortune until the next performance. These beads were, he added, held in the mouth as sacred objects when the members went outside

[1] His Delaware title-name is *Axkwe'lpaqqu'xwe*, "Overturns Mountains when Walking," a member of the Turkey group.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

[524] used to denote a game of extremely wide distribution throughout northern North America and retaining a uniform type wherever found, is common among the Delawares. At the present time it is played for amusement by persons of both sexes and all ages during the evenings in winter time. This, too, is regarded as a pastime for those who are born in winter, one that is thought to bring on cold stormy weather the ensuing day. Herein lies its ceremonial character.

To a sharpened stick or bone is fastened a leather string some twenty inches long at the other end of which is fixed the tail of a rabbit. On the string are threaded five hollow cones, the wider ends open toward the stick. For the want of sufficient native material the Delawares make these cones by hollowing out and tapering common spools. In former times they were the phalanges of the deer. In the specimens figured one is constructed with spools, the other with sections of some animals' leg bones. The object of the play is to swing the cones in the air, catching as many as possible on the end of the pointed stick. Each player repeats the attempt to impale these cones until he misses three times. For each cone caught on the stick he receives a count of one. The players keep count of their totals by memory. The winning total is decided upon at the beginning of the game, it may be 15, 25, 50 or 100 points. Small wagers are laid upon the [525] outcome, the player to reach the total first taking the stakes. To catch the rabbit's tail counts nothing.

[171] I hardly need comment upon the wide distribution of this game from the Pacific to the Atlantic and as far south as the Plains unbrokenly across North America, even in archaeological levels of considerable historical depth as Dr. Strong's findings indicate (Strong, op. cit., p. 192).

CEREMONIAL DOLLS

778 *Oxta's*, "Doll or Plaything."—The privilege of making dolls as toys out of cornhusks is denied children. The reason [777 753] is that corn is too sacred to be trifled with. To violate this would bring on bad luck in the form of sickness. Only those in whose family inheritance the obligation to make and to perform in ceremony with such creations are permitted to

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

525 money, or as a minor stake the penalty is to cut wood for the owner of the house where it is played or for the winner, or to go on an errand, or to butcher a hog for him the next day, as the case may be.

844 777 821 This game has its limitations of performance inasmuch as it is proper only for those born in winter to engage in it and it is only played in the winter time, with the result that it brings on storms of sleet and blizzards. For these preferences to be violated would bring on bad luck.

The markings on the straws valued from 5 to 75, are indicated in the accompanying sketch.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Now when they return from the hunt, the Hunt-Leader when now he has come near even if it is midnight, shall shoot a signal once for as many deer as were killed, shooting so many times. And now when the Cranes hear the signal-shot of the Hunter he shall immediately run into the Big House and begin to sing for these hunters. All the Attendants must be ready to feed the hunters and all the horses unsaddled and fed, for that is the rule and act governing the Attendants.[1]

First the Bringer-in prays, using tobacco.[2] He bestows a blessing when offering praise to him our Father. This is sufficient for this time.[3]

There is also, my kindred, an ancient custom that we beg the Mask-Spirit to dance for us. You Cranes, you know how and you understand those songs which are used for this occasion when singing for the Mask. Every person who wants to go in the Big House is permitted to look on while the Mask dances in the Big House.[4]

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informant, who has taken part in this hunting rite, are that the leader distribute portions of tobacco to the hunters who are under his control. At each night's camp the stopping place is selected by him, the rations of food are distributed, tobacco is offered to the fire with a prayer by the leader and other details suggesting the rules governing the war parties' conduct among Central Algonkian and in the southern Plains areas.

Wi-ta'panoxwe, it is interesting to note, recalled, during his experience with the hunting squad, how a screech-owl cried near their camp one night; which has long been a sign of good luck (see also Zeisberger, p. 139). The next day he killed a deer, being the first of the party to do so.

[1] The hunters are not obliged to be concerned with the trouble of saddling, unsaddling or feeding their horses when enlisted in the sacred task of the ceremonial hunt. The Attendants take over all such duties of service to them and their animals.

[2] He burns a little tobacco in the fire.

[3] Hereupon it being between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the hunters leave, departing westward toward the Osage nation nowadays, the only hunting ground accessible to them.

[4] The man wearing the mask and the bear-hide clothes keeps the mask and clothes some hundred yards from the Big House at the edge of the brush in the open, hung upon a branch to keep it away from the dogs. Anyone who desires to perform this rite may put on the paraphernalia and accept the invitation as given above, and go into the Big House and dance. His dance lasts about ten minutes anywhere in the Big House that he desires. The mask when worn is held by the chin with the holder's fingers in the mouth of the mask, so that the wearer can adjust the focus of the eyes of the carving to his own focus of vision. The eye holes are small, yet the mask could be adjusted so that the performer could see as though he were looking through spectacles. To be able to do this was considered as a sign of spiritual greatness. It might be added that the face illustrated in Harrington's study (Fig. 1, p. 32) has the left eye-hole enlarged, something that had been done improperly, according to the informant. He leaves wearing the garb and returns it to the place where it is kept (fig. 9). This all takes place before noon.

[P. 35, B]

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571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth [787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a [527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive [757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually [758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid [754] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both 762] accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some- [727] times ceremonially eaten, and hunger 266] cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively [757] used in the treatment of disease, and vomit- 777] ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.
28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p 107-108.
29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.